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SPECIAL L[ECTURE]

TIBETAN, TODA, AND TIYA POLYANDRY: A REPORT ON FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

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The present paper on polyandry in those parts of Asia I have visited has, so far, been given to but a few audiences, for various reasons. It was presented once in London and once in Paris, and I attempted to give it in Cairo during the war, but, interestingly enough, the Egyptian government banned the lecture because it was about polyandry—a subject which they felt might be detrimental to Moslem customs and give ideas to Moslem ladies! Happily, such a development is not likely to take place in this country.

The basic idea behind my investigations was to go out into the field and get an up-to-date knowledge of polyandry by using the psychoanalytical discoveries of the beginning of this century, attempting to work these in with our ethnological and anthropological knowledge of primitive peoples. The material gathered, therefore, will be presented here in this spirit. Unfortunately, after two years and a half in the field, war broke out and I had to interrupt my work in order to go back and fight. This, naturally, was more important at the time, but it did interrupt the work. I am planning, now, to go out again this year with a Danish Expedition, first to southern India and then to Tibet to finish off what was begun earlier.

I am sure many people are wondering why I hit upon polyandry as a special study. I chose it for the following reasons: What interests the psychologists in the West, I should say, is to get as many comparative facts as possible about the psychology of people living in other parts of the world, and especially living in an entirely different family setup, since the

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[21] results we have obtained clinically in the psychoanalytical field in the West are all based upon our organization, with the father being the head of the family, the inheritance going through the father's line and the child being brought up in that environment. It is of great interest to the psychoanalysts to be able to find societies in which people live under a different family organization, since the structure of the human psyche, as found in the West, is very closely linked with the family organization we have there.

The most obviously different organization seemed to me, to begin with, to be the matriarchal family, as it is known, that is to say, one in which the mother is head of the family and inheritance goes through her family. But, by all known investigations in anthropology, it is obvious that the matrilineal type of family is one in which the mother's brother, that is, the maternal uncle, plays so important a role that the children growing up in such an environment have only a father-substitute in him. Thus, the setup which we have in the West is very similar to the one in the matriarchal family. I thought, therefore, that it would be of greater interest to go out and find something *entirely* different, even more so than the matrilineal family, and polyandry seemed to be the most radically different type or organization because, here, you have a number of fathers, indiscriminate as fathers as we know them, and one mother. The children brought up in this society are surely living in an entirely different setup from ours, and entirely different, too, from the matrilineal and matriarchal tribal societies.

Also, polyandry is little known from an anthropological point of view, and it was worth while to investigate it purely from that angle. The difficulty which I came up against in the beginning was, where to find polyandrous peoples. They are not

121 well known and have not been extensively
114 studied or recorded. In a book by Pro-
171 fessor Westermark, *"The History of Human Marriage,"* which is possibly the best study of this question throughout the world, covering cases of differing family organization, it is only mentioned that polyandry exists in America to some extent, mostly in South America on the coast of Ecuador and also in British and Dutch Guiana; that it exists on the North American continent among some of the American Indian aborigines and among the Eskimos; and that it also occurs in Tibet, in India, mostly in the Himalayas, but also in southwest India, in the Melanesian archipelago, and among some primitive peoples of the Siberian plains. In Africa, it is also known in parts of Uganda and in some tribes of Southeast Africa among the Hottentots.

121 Thus, I had quite a large choice of loca-
114 tions to study polyandrous peoples. I
128 chose India and Tibet because, from the abovementioned book, I realized that the Tibetians had perhaps the best-preserved and most efficiently organized polyandry of them all, and that in India there seemed to be a number of unrecorded polyandrous peoples which were worth a trip to study on the spot. Then, too, both Tibet and India seemed to be healthful places for an anthropologist to work. In 1937, my wife and I decided to go out there and look for the polyandrous peoples. We visited the Tibetans for eight months in 1938, the Todas in southern India for six months in the summer of 1939, and the Tiyas on the southwest coast of India, in Malabar, for the remaining time, which was roughly about a month, until World War II broke out and we had to interrupt our activities. I shall present my findings in the same order, and end with a synopsis of the whole, giving you my conclusions as to, first, the psychoanalytical results of the investigation and, second, the anthropological results as well.

121 *Tibetan Polyandry.* We visited the
101 western part of Tibet because, having

121 reached northwestern India, or, rather, the
101 foothills of the Himalayas on the Indian side, we heard that a certain amount of polyandry existed among the hill people.
121 We went up to where they were reported
101 to exist and found that polyandry had died
131 out, but kept on looking further until we
595 actually ended up on the Tibetan plateau,
103 about 12,000 feet up, and found a very active polyandrous society among both the nomads of Rupchu (a plateau bordering on Kashmir and Tibet) and the inhabi-
162 tants of Ladak. The latter is a province of what today is the state of Kashmir, entirely inhabited by Tibetans and situated in the upper Indus valley at the point where the Indus leaves Tibet and enters Indian territory. Later, we went towards central Tibet and investigated polyandry in Sikhim, which is a little state bordering on Tibet and sandwiched between the states of Nepal and Bhutan in the east.

121 The people living in western Tibet live
131 in an isolated position. The country is
595 very barren and, because of the altitude and the difficulties of travel, the people are
114 very inaccessible. These, naturally, are excellent conditions for such a peculiar custom as polyandry to survive and I am sure that, if Tibetan polyandry is so active and well-preserved as it is there, it is due to the physical environment which favors isolation among these people. In the area we visited, 90 per cent of the population was polyandrous and I understand that nearly all the inhabitants of the vast
10 Tibetan country, of which there are something like three million, are polyandrous, though, of course, it would take actual first-hand investigation to be absolutely sure that this is the case.

595 The polyandry practised among the Ti-
121 betans is of both the fraternal and the non-fraternal type, that is, when a young lady marries a young man she either marries all his brothers regardless of age (she can even be the wife of children born after her marriage), or she can take as many husbands as she desires, without their being related as brothers, at her discretion. I

595 shall try to show why in some cases
121 polyandry is fraternal, and in others non-fraternal.

162 The province of Ladak, which I visited,
197 is inhabited by Tibetans speaking an
793 ancient form of the language. Tibet, of
643 course, is run by the Lamaist church and
361 the head of the country is the Dalai Lama.
341 The former kings of Tibet have taken
131 refuge in Ladak since the 8th century A. D.
175 and live in the castle of Leh. The town is very characteristic of Tibetan towns. Flat-roofed houses are very well built on the side of high mountains. The altitude is 12,000 feet, the entire area is snowed in
[50] during the winter, and the people live mostly in their houses and do not go out.

164 These Tibetan houses are not very dif-
123 ferent from our own western type of
354 houses, except in one respect. The kitchen here has no chimney, so it can be imagined how much smoke fills the room when they cook. The Tibetans do not seem to mind; though we personally found it very difficult to stand upright in their kitchens when they were cooking and so spent most of our time there on all fours, to avoid the smoke and keep our eyes from watering. The people suffer from eye trouble because of this practice and yet they seem to stick to it in a very curious manner.

291 The characteristic dress of the Ladak
301 women is of red cloth such as the men
523 wear. They have a sheepskin toga which they throw over their shoulders and a very
428 characteristic head-dress, made of a piece of red felt with two enormous ears of black wool. The red felt band is studded with turquoises at the back, family heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter. Such a headdress is known as a *perak*.

291 The men are tough-looking. They very
857 often have their right shoulders bare; though sometimes they have a Chinese shirt thrown over them. When they are working, they usually have the right shoulder uncovered, however cold the weather may be. Looking at Tibetan children, one could imagine at first sight

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857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[853] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to learn the Buddhist religion, learning to read and write at the same time. This gives these people a very high standard of culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the property is divided among several heirs there will not be enough to go around. They not only wish to keep the property intact but also to maintain the family name to this property. Thus, when a certain number of brothers, let us say, three, inherit the property and the house, they do not divide it among themselves but, marrying one woman as they do, they share not only the property but also the woman as a common wife, as well as the children which belong to all of them together. It is a kind of family communism, and certainly prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
[601] and keep the property. This is called a *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
581 there are only girls in the family, what
592 usually happens is that the younger girls go off and marry into other families, individually becoming the common wives of a number of brothers. They thus perform the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest daughter, however, since she has no brothers, inherits both the name and property from her fathers and and is allowed to marry as many husbands as she wishes. These husbands and the children, too, take her name, so that, in this way, the children which issue from the marriage take on the mother's name and inherit the property undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis
592 around which the system functions. In taking down genealogical notes I have, therefore, always given the family the name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called
428 Tsungarpa who married one woman, the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE 1).[1] All her brothers were dead, so that

1° P. 213c FIGURE 1

595 she and her husband actually owned two
583 houses and they had what, on the surface,
428 looked like an ordinary monogamous marriage. However, the two properties were not amalgamated. The woman was to carry on the name of Bata and the man that of the Tsungarpa house. Consequently, of the three boys which issued from this marriage, the first two inherited the Tsungarpa house, while the youngest inherited his mother's house and was entrusted with carrying on the name of that family.

[428] One of the sons of these three brothers,
842 Murup, inherited the Bata house from his
587 uncle, but remained childless after twenty
562 years of marriage. In such a case, oddly
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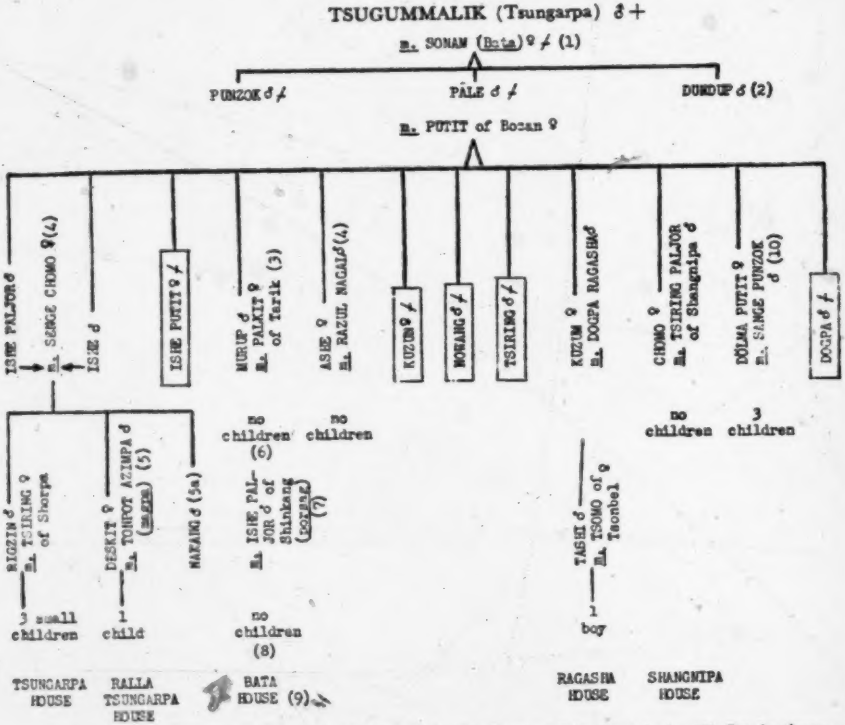

FIGURE 1. The Tsungarpa house. (1) Heiress to the Bata house—all brothers dead. (2) Put in charge of the lone Bata house. (3) Given the Bata house. (4) A Mohammedan—the woman takes the man's religion. (5) Land only held in tenancy. (5a) Becomes a Lama at Himis monastery. (6) After 20 years. (7) Murup is single-handed. (8) After 4 years. (9) Could adopt a child to carry on. (10) No land, as formerly Mohammedan; messenger at Himis monastery. † Deceased.

--213c (Figure 1)--

842 enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it
587 is the husband's fault and they usually
562 take in another man, in the hope that
357 there will be children. Such a man is
[104] known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 If a Tibetan woman marries a Moham-
177 medan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 The children in Tibet are betrothed
593 when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually
588 by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

584 593 [104] the same property, which is built especially for that purpose. This custom is known as *kangoo, kangchen choches* which in Tibetan means "small house, big house division." The children then become responsible for the agricultural and commercial activity, while the parents must live on an allowance or on a small part of the property which is put aside for them (called *maskal* if it is for the mother, and *paskal* if it is for the fathers). This custom, though not rigidly enforced, seems very strange to us, since in our society the parents remain in charge of the family property until they die and the children have to go and earn a living for the family which they found.

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593 It cannot be said that, in a Tibetan polyandrous family, one of the brothers is *eo ipso* more important that the others. For instance, it is not necessarily the eldest brother who is the head of the family, but usually the one with the most personality and sometimes even the mother, if she is in a position to run the family. The fathers are often somewhat afraid of their sons, because as soon as the sons become married, the parents have to leave the house. Thus, they try to ingratiate their children so that they will be left a sufficient amount of property on which to live when the children marry.

852 There is an initiation ceremony among the Tibetans, as with many other peoples in the world. It consists in the boys and girls having their hair cut at an early age, usually between their second and third year, by the mother together with one of the fathers, usually the most influential one.

593 There seems to be no fixed rule as to how a polyandrous family works out relations between husbands and wife. Most people seem to imagine that it is left to the wife to regulate with whom she shall have relations, but this is not always the case. If it is left to her, she naturally has to use tact so that the boys are all satisfied, but, in other cases, the decision is up to the brothers themselves, who remain at

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593 home, in turn, while the others go off on commercial journeys. This idea of one brother staying in the house and looking after the common wife is what many anthropologists believe to be the explanation as to why these people practice polyandry; that is, so that they can be sure the children issuing from the marriage will be at least from the same family, even if they are not those of one particular man. Thus, during the war, I saw a Sikh officer (an Englishman) who received a request from one of his soldiers to go home because, he said, his wife had had a child. The officer said, "But you have been away for two years, so how can your wife have had a child? Is that any reason to go back?" And the Sikh answered, "Yes, but my brother was at home," and then retracted his words, because the Sikhs, at least, do not like admitting they are polyandrous, though it certainly exists in the northern part of the Punjab, among them as well as among the Hindu *jats*.

In Leh, I was struck by the fact that, in most families, there seems to be no organization at all. Complete promiscuity apparently exists between the brothers and the common wife, especially during the winter months when the place is very often snowed in completely and the whole family lives in one room because they have not enough fuel to heat the whole house. This I found out both from questioning the people and from hearing details from Europeans who have gone into the question before.

593 114 121 201 152 Oddly enough, however, in all anthropological books about polyandry, one hears that the brothers, in turn, go in to the wife and signal their presence in the nuptial room to the other brothers by leaving some mark at the door. They either put their sword against the door or their stick, or leave their shoes or hat outside, or hang their beads on a hook at the door as a signal that they are in with the common wife and the other brothers may have no access to the room. When I examined this first-hand, however, and also in the

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593 case of other polyandrous peoples like the
114 Todas and Tiyas, I found that they say
121 this is not practised any longer, but that it
201 used to be a custom two or three genera-
152 tions back. I have never found a case of its actually being practised today and, for this reason, I have strong psychoanalytical suspicions that it has never been practised, but that this story has been put out by polyandrous people as an indication of, what I should call popularly, "wishful thinking." Each of the brothers would like, in some way, to have the common wife all to himself and would like to manifest this virility on his part by hanging up some emblem at the door. The sword, the stick, the shoes, the hat, and even the beads are all, psychoanalytically, symbols of virility, and it seems as if the men would *like* to have this custom which, possibly, has never existed, and each of them gains a certain satisfaction in thus imagining a virility which he feels he does not have.

181 The morality of the polyandrous people
505 is very high. I mean by this that, as poly-
178 andry is an institutionalized social system, they stick to it very strictly. If you ask missionaries who have been among polyandrous people, they will, of course, tell you that polyandry is a very immoral practice. But if you speak to the people themselves, they, on the contrary, consider it highly immoral not to be polyandrous. If we take as the definition of morality, conformity to the social standards of the setting in which one lives, then one can say that polyandrous people, at least in this area which I studied, are very moral. The old people complain that today the young ones are getting highly immoral and lax in not carrying out the tradition of polyandry. Certainly, on the borders of India, where the people come in contact with the monogamous families of India, or with Europeans, polyandry is dying out to some extent.

595 I remember speaking to an old Tibetan
178 called Tocktock in Leh, who told me that,
428 in town, Indian and Turki traders (the latter from Chinese Turkestan), and Euro-

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595 178 428 pean travelers were introducing the bad habit of monogamous marriage, and that the young men were getting more and more immoral. I suppose he was quite right, and as I was interested to hear his point of view we had quite a conversation about it. He next asked me how, in Europe, we managed to remain wealthy without being polyandrous. He said to me, "Here in Tibet we haven't enough to go around and as we don't want to divide the property up we have to be polyandrous so that we inherit the property without its being divided. But how do you Europeans do it? How do you remain wealthy by being monogamous and dividing up your property?"

595 178 428 329 I must say I had not thought of this before. It only occurred to me when I was talking to this man. So I said, "Yes, now that I think of it, it is probably true that in Europe we do things in a different way. When we marry, each man goes off with his wife and they try to fend for themselves, build up their own family and get their own source of revenue. That is the way we do it. There is enough wealth to go around to found other families." "Yes," the old man said, "That is true. I have noticed among the Tibetans who have become Moslems that this is also the case. They cease being polyandrous, and because of that they then divide up the property. There is not enough to go around. The eldest brother usually gets it and the youngest brothers have to go off with their wives elsewhere to find some work. I have also noticed here that nearly all the Mohammedan families seem to go to Burma and work in the ruby mines there. That is obviously for the same reason you are telling me now about Europeans." Then he was silent for a moment and looked at me in a pensive fashion until suddenly he said, "Now I understand why you Europeans come here. That is why you have got colonies. If you were polyandrous you wouldn't need to!"

152 428 One question I am very often asked is, does jealousy exist within the various

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152 houses? I have the impression that it does
428 exist but that it is very highly repressed by this institution of polyandry. Tibetans, when asked if they are jealous among themselves, will always answer that they cannot afford to be jealous because of the economic sanction against it. If they started quarreling among brothers, they would have to divide up the property. They would then be too poor to carry on, and this threat makes it impossible for them to show their jealousy.

152 As it is, there seem to be some outlets
595 for it. I have noticed a number of what one might term "unjustified" *magpa* marriages, cases of young men who were married jointly with their brothers to one woman and yet each went off and married an heiress. Such a man could have remained married to the common wife, but was lucky enough to find an heiress he could marry and he certainly did so at once, because it gave him some justifiable motive for having a wife all to himself There are very many such cases of *magpa* marriages which are not justifiable, in the case of the males, except for the desire to break away from a polyandrous family.

152 A certain amount of neurotic cases
762 among brothers can also be noticed, which
593 shows that jealousy certainly exists unconsciously in their psyche. I saw a young man in Keylong, in Lahaul, where we were staying for a month (or, rather, I heard about it because it had just happened when we arrived there), who had committed suicide because he felt that the common wife was not giving him enough chance of access to her. He was in love with her and his other brothers were obstacles, so he committed suicide. In Leh, I actually saw a young man who for many years, as long as his brothers were alive, had suffered from a paralysis of one of his legs. His brothers died off one after another until he was left alone with the common wife, and queerly enough, that very day he lost the lameness in his leg, so that it looked as if it had been a hysterical manifestation due to repressed aggression

within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

As far as I could find out, homo-sexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof of it. But local Europeans who know the

WT 838 181 595 But local Europeans who know the Tibetans very well, such as the Moravian missionaries who live among them in the western part of Tibet, explain that, on the whole, they are not very passionate people, but rather cold. Certainly, their polyandrous institution has much to do with the repression of their natural feelings.

WT 779 595 174 Oddly enough, the Buddhist religion condemns not only polygyny and divorce, but also polyandry, and yet all Tibetans who are Buddhists practise it. Thus, it must be a pre-Buddhist custom. The Moslems, however (that is, those Tibetans who are converted to Mohammedanism) cease being polyandrous immediately and take to the Islamic polygynous system.

Ti 595 341 WT 341 There exists a very rare case of polyandry in Tibet which it has not yet been my privilege to come across, but of which I heard repeatedly in western Tibet. It is practised in a society which I understand exists in central Tibet around Lhasa and Gyantse. In these towns, the fathers and sons share one wife. One of the objects of my returning now, at the end of the year, to Tibet, is to meet a woman who is thus married to both father and sons. Such a [10a] woman is known in Tibetan as a *tchama-doong*, which means "beam-mother-beam" a name derived from an analogy in the build of their houses. These have flat roofs, built over a number of beams, large transversal beams and others, which are smaller, going across them, and very small bits of wood which link the two together. When they call such a woman a *tchama-doong*, they mean she is comparable to a small beam, that she links the big beam with the small bits.

Ti 595 587 It must not be imagined for a minute, of course, that this woman is the mother of the sons. But let us assume the case of a family in which there are a number of brothers, who have married one woman and have a number of offspring. If this mother dies, the fathers can either remarry and, in this case, the sons are entitled to share the stepmother with their fathers, or, if the sons are married when the mother dies, the fathers, instead of remarrying, are

Ti 595 587 entitled to share the daughter-in-law with their sons. That, as I say, is practiced only in central Tibet but is well known in the entire country. The children issued from such a marriage legally have as fathers those to whom the wife was officially married at the moment of the birth. That is, if widowers share their daughter-in-law with their sons, the children of that woman are the children of the sons, so that your legal grandchildren can be your own physiological children and, *vice versa,* if it is the fathers who are legally married to the woman, your legal brother can well be your own physiological son!

Ti 595 587 WT 183 777 I understand that Tibetans from other parts of the country rather despise this form of marriage. I have caught my caravaneers openly insulting central Tibetans as being *tchamadoong*-practicing. Also, when they are playing dice, I noticed that sometimes they invoke the *tchamadoong* to produce luck for them, so that she is a double kind of figure to whom they cannot be entirely indifferent: they despise her and yet, at the same time, she can bring them luck.

Ti 595 587 I do not know how far the existence of the *tchamadoong* has been reported in anthropological circles heretofore. Personally, I have never heard of this system before, except on the spot, and I am very keen to go back and study it. The case to which we came closest was the governor in the western province of Tibet, named Ngari Korsum. He was living in the capital, Gartok, when we were there. He was a central Tibetan sent by the central government to govern that province, and with him were his two sons and their one wife. She was a *tchamadoong,* the wife of the boys, the father sharing her with his sons. I was shown a photograph of her, taken by a Tibetan who had a camera from India, and that is the closest I have been, so far, to such a woman. I understand that in southern India there is a similar practice, in which a father is entitled to enjoy his daughter-in-law as long as his son is a minor, but this practice

Ti 595 587

is not exactly the same for it is not an institutionalized form of marriage, the way the *tchamadoong* is in Tibet. A monk I met at Spitook, a monastery close to Leh in Ladak, told me that he knew five families with *tchamadoongs* in Gyantse. I have noted their names and hope to be able to study them on the spot.

Toda Polyandry. I shall now try to show how polyandry, as practiced by the Todas, differs radically from the Tibetan system. This is a worth-while consideration, for it shows how polyandry, though it is basically the same organization, can appear in different forms throughout the world.

To 131 161 114

The Todas are probably the best-known primitive people in the world. Anthropologists mention them repeatedly. They live in the southern Indian hills, called Nilghiris, west of Madras. There are very few of them left, only about 600, and they were very well described by Doctor Rivers at the beginning of this century, though much could still be learned about them, as Rivers admits himself. He made many discoveries, but also made several mistakes. In his book, the chapter on religion tells the amusing story of some investigators who had been there before, who tried to note down the names of the various gods the Todas have in their shrines. One god has a very long name, which, to this author, seemed to be correct, but, as Rivers pointed out in his book, the words that appeared as the "name" really mean, in Toda, "Give me another rupee and I will tell you what this god is called." It is easy to understand what happened. I think that similar progress could be made in the investigation of Toda polyandry, but that Rivers did not go into it completely and sufficiently.

To [161] 595 618 [121]

Unfortunately, as I have said, the Todas are a dying-out people, there being only 600 left, of which only about 50 per cent are polyandrous, *i.e.*, a much smaller proportion than among the Tibetans. The Todas are divided into two main clans, a superior leading class called the Thartars,

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and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

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The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

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Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to

To 302 524 have any except buffalo butter, which they rub into it. They are very fond of sporting games, and the country is green and rolling with many hills and is very nice to play about in.

To 595 A Toda genealogy, analyzed in detail, will best enable us to compare their system to the Tibetan. As I said at the start, the property here is not the axis around which

To polyandry turns.

595 582 472 Three brothers married, polyandrously, a young lady, Potöz (see FIGURE 2). She was married to one of her cousins when she was two years old, as is the practice. When she came of age, however, she married these three brothers. She had no children and died quite early, so that the three brothers were left without any children and without a wife. Then, the following thing occurred. The eldest brother Eroï, married a young woman, known as Sotaboof, and went off on his own; *i.e.*, he was not willing that his two brothers should share this woman with him. He became a government agent, and because he had founded a family of his own, he was entitled to take his part of the buffalo belonging in common to all three brothers. He took one-third of the buffalo away, and two extra, although I cannot remember why; but the important thing is that he was entitled to a share of

To the common property.

595 583 592 The two others tried to marry a woman called Mab. The second brother, Kiel, asked Mab's father, but the father started haggling with him over the bride-price. (They have to pay a price for a girl, a custom which does not exist among the Tibetans.) The girl's father wanted nine buffaloes, which the young man would not give and left in a huff. Then the third brother, Konoch, married Mab, and soon after she became pregnant. In the meantime, her father died and the second brother, hearing of this from Konoch, returned to the house and asked if she would accept him as her second husband, which she did, even though she was pregnant from the third brother. The

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second brother had also left, when he ran away in a huff, with one-third plus two of the buffalo, which he now merged again with the third brother's, so that two-thirds of the original buffalo (minus two which went with the first brother) again became the common property of these two brothers. They thus had one wife and later shared the two children born of the marriage, a girl, Marzin, born shortly after the polyandrous marriage, and a boy, Montoï, of whom the mother told me that she did not know which of the two was his father, and that she had no preference, because she was a good polyandrous wife to both.

To 595 WT 595 [592]

The Todas do not practice polygyny as the Tibetans do. They were shocked that I should even mention it. Brothers who have left the house (like the first one in the above example) are not allowed to return with some other wife and share her with their brothers. This is never practised and, even when a brother leaves, he is only given one chance to come back alone to the family fold. Should he do it a second time, he is turned out of the house and the brother

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or brothers living with the wife are exclusively entitled to her.

To 584 582 586 wTi 584 Instead of the Tibetan practice, in which the children are betrothed by the parents early, the Todas have a custom of marrying first cousins very early, as child marriages are common nearly all over southern India. In such a marriage, the betrothal would likely take place at least in the first or second year, and always between cousins, the boys marrying paternal girl cousins and the girls marrying maternal boy cousins. Later, these marriages are dissolved by divorce and the children are entitled to remarry by inclination, but compensation is always paid to the "legal" husband. This is worked out in a traditional manner, so that it is certainly a survival of some older form of marriage.

To 595 wTi [595] Another difference with Tibetan polyandry, in the case of the Todas, is that one man is usually declared the father of the children, though this is not always so. In the aforementioned case of Mab, the woman said she had no preference as to who was the father of her children. The woman is regarded as part of the goods

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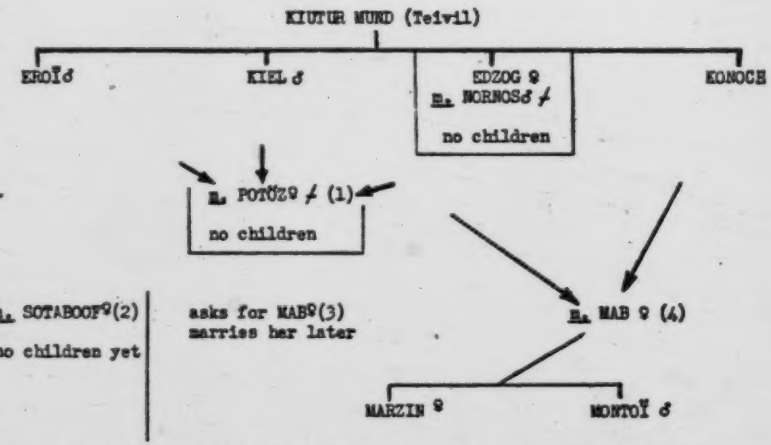

FIGURE 2. A Toda genealogy. (1) First married to Kazan when two years old. (2) Becomes a government peon; takes one-third of the buffalo plus two away. (3) Quarrels with her father over bride price; leaves with one-third of the buffalo but comes back and marries Mab after his brother, Konoch, has already married her. (4) Konoch originally is left with one-third of the buffalo (four). Mab becomes pregnant before Kiel joins in the marriage. † Deceased. Arrows denote polyandrous marriages.

-- p. 220c (Figure 2) --

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and chattel of the men. She is looked down upon, considered as part of the property, as part of the household, and must pay obeisance to her husbands. She does this by bending down and putting her head under the feet of the husbands, which is the typical Toda salute of respect. There is an initiation ceremony very similar to the Tibetan one, in which the boys' and girls' hair is cut early and even one of the ears is pierced. However, here it differs from the Tibetan custom, in that it is the maternal uncle who does this, which is rather curious and may show some influence of a matrilineal, matriarchal nature.

To 836 618 123 784 154

Particularly extraordinary among the Todas is the fact that no girl of the Thartar clan (the superior section of the Todas) is allowed to be married as a virgin. She has to be deflorated first by a member of the Teivil clan. This seemed to me to be so extraordinary that I decided to look into it a bit more closely. Teivil girls can marry as virgins, but the Thartar girls must be deflorated first by a Teivil before they can marry a Thartar. Naturally, that kind of thing is difficult to find out about, because the people are too shy to speak about it. When I finally got hold of an old Toda and asked him what the reason was, it took me at least a month to find out. I gave him a lot of presents, among other things a bag of rice and a calf buffalo, and still he would not speak. Finally, I found out that it was not that he was unwilling to do it despite the presents I had given him; on the contrary, he would have very much liked to tell me about it, but seemed to be scared to speak about it in the Toda area. He was afraid of the spirits and the Toda gods if he revealed so intimate a secret. Consequently, I decided to take him miles away, out of the Toda area, where his gods and spirits could not get hold of him. We drove at least 100 miles away from the Nilghiris before we stopped by the side of the road and I again asked him, "Why do you practice this custom?" His answer was very

To x36 784 154 618 123 interesting. He said that, if they did not do this, the maternal uncle of the girl would die. This seemed very surprising, so I asked why. He said, "I do not know. It is like that. If she were allowed to marry as a virgin, her maternal uncle would die." When asked what would happen if the girl actually did marry as a virgin, he said, "Sometimes it happens, and there is just one chance again for the maternal uncle to save himself. That is, he should take the young girl and shave all her hair off. It is the only chance he has of saving his life."

To 121 154 I thought, from a psychoanalytical point of view, this was most interesting because it seems to me as if there were a feeling of guilt in the defloration of such a young lady; that the Oedipus complex comes out here although it has been transferred to the maternal uncle. He is the one who is threatened by consummation of the act (as a father would be in a son-father sexual conflict), and he can only save himself by castrating the girl (displacement of the suitor?) by cutting off her hair. Those are hypothetical psychoanalytical interpretations, I know, but they seem to me strong indications that these people have probably much the same complexes that we have in the West.

To 595 Relationships between the husbands and the wife among the Todas are different from those among the Tibetans. They are not promiscuous in any way, and in their marital relations the brothers go strictly in turn. They, too, will tell you that, in past times, their grandfathers (or ancestors still further removed) used to leave their stick at the door, or their shoes, or something, always to show they were there. This is not practiced "any more"; the brothers know by intuition that one of them is with the common wife, or he tells the others openly that he is going to do it.

To 515 wTi 595 As far as morality is concerned, polyandry is not enforced in the same way as among the Tibetans. It is somewhat lax and usually applied only to the woman. The men perpetually seem to be stealing

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To 595 one another's wives, and it happens that they can even retain such a woman they have stolen from other families, if they pay compensation to the husbands. This goes on continually and one sees some women who have been to three or four families in turn. The Todas do not seem to be any more jealous than the Tibetans, but perhaps this very laxity gives an outlet for jealousy, since they can steal one another's women, so that this does not appear to be a good instance for the study of jealousy among a polyandrous people.

To 837 595 764 There are numerous extra-marital relations, which are tolerated as long as they take place among Todas. At the funeral of a Toda woman, it is curious to note that there is one individual who officiates in addition to the husbands, and usually he is supposed to be the official lover of the woman. This looks peculiar, since they have it only in a ritual, and it may indicate that they once practised non-fraternal polyandry and that this official lover who officiates together with the husbands is perhaps only a survival of a non-fraternal mate.

To 836 596 848 Pre-nuptial relations are forbidden among both men and women, and there are never any illegitimate children among the Todas, as they are always born within one family (since "marriage" takes place in infancy) and considered legitimate. The men alone are allowed to divorce, but women may never do so. The usual ground for divorce is that they have stolen one another's wives. The only case in which a woman is divorced with ignominy is if she has had relations with a non-Toda. In that case, she is driven from her home, her hair cut, and usually tied to a buffalo with coconuts attached to its neck, after being beaten by the community.

To 595 The impression I got was that Toda polyandry was loose and decadent, and that, today, we see only the remnants of a former, more efficient type of polyandrous organization.

000 *Tiya Polyandry.* The Tiyas, living in

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K 131 595 596 428 591 Tiya Polyandry. The Tiyas, living in Malabar, exhibit one especially interesting phenomenon: they are a polyandrous people who are patrilocal (that is, the woman marries and goes to live with her husbands), but also matrilineal (that is, the property that they have—and they do not have much, because they are common laborers—is inherited from the mother's brothers). Unfortunately, I did not have much time to investigate these people because the war broke out when I had only been at work among them for three weeks. Thus, the only thing I could note was that they are polyandrous, patrilocal, and matrilineal at the same time. I should like to return and see how this works out.

T 123 To 123 K 123 *General Conclusions.* I am afraid that some of these results may seem superficial. I was unable to stay as long as I should have liked among all these peoples. I did not know any of their languages well, and to really do good field work, one would have to live among them and not put questions to them as I did. However, I hope to return and to do a more thorough study.

T 155 To 155 K 155 As far as the psychoanalytical results are concerned, I think that they are highly illuminating, though not sufficiently ample to be conclusive. There are strong indications that, broadly speaking, psychic mechanisms, libidinal development and mental structure may be identical to those in the West. There are, thus, numerous instances of trends pointing to Oedipus and castration complexes. What I, however, really investigated insufficiently was where we should place the relative borderline between what is specifically culturally determined in psychology (such as traits due to family environment) and what is generally humanly so (such as sociobiological traits).

K 595 182 To 595 182 Ti 595 182 As far as the ethnological results are concerned, these can be examined from two different angles. Functionally, polyandry fulfils the same purpose as all other marriages: it is a social institution for the satisfaction of the individual sexual in-

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stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

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reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

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As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

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As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

To 162 this case. But as Rivers has very well pointed out—"which comes first?" It is the old problem of the egg and the hen. Do they kill off their little girls because they wish to remain polyandrous, or are they polyandrous because they have more men than women owing to the practice of female infanticide? If the latter, the fact that they can steal one another's women would be another solution to the problem, so that again the demographic reasons seem to be insufficient.

To 121 Ti 121 K 121 Being unsatisfied with these explanations of polyandry given by various authors, I decided to find out from the people themselves why they are polyandrous. I do not think this has been done before. Most people find out about polyandry and then they try to think up some explanation for it, but no one has gone and asked the people themselves. Of course, when I checked the scientific explanations against their ideas, I got various answers.

To 595 829 Ti 595 829 There was no other answer from the Todas about the Mahabarata than that which I have already discussed. As far as the economic reasons are concerned, the Tibetans did say yes, they lived in poor surroundings and that is why they are polyandrous. Demographic reasons (that there are more men than women) were never mentioned, while sociological reasons such as frequent traveling (one brother having to remain at home with the wife) were mentioned often. But I was struck by the fact that, of the 100 answers I got, at least 95 were quite different from all the scientific explanatio

To 829 595 121 Ti 829 595 121 The usual answer I got was, "We are polyandrous so that our wives will not quarrel." The Todas even said that they are polyandrous because they do not want the *brothers* to quarrel with one another. And I must say that I found this explanation by the people themselves much more convincing, from a psychological point of view, than the academic explanations of certain authors. Basing my own view on the answers of the people themselves, I

To 829 595 121 182 T 829 595 121 182 K [121] would give the following interpretation of the polyandrous systems found: It seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage, but that it is due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and insecure economic conditions, persisting, in the case of the Tibetans, through isolation from other communities, or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of defense mechanism against invasion by other cultures." I have not included the Tiyas in this definition because I do not know them sufficiently and would like to go more thoroughly into their polyandry before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti 595 114 212 Now, if I take this definition, instance by instance, I shall be able to interpret exactly what I mean by it. When I first say that polyandry is "not necessarily a primitive institutional form of marriage," I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To 595 114 [182] [593] Next, I say that polyandry is "due to the psychological reaction of individuals living in communities subject to environmentally poor and economically insecure conditions," by which I mean, living in a physical environment which leads to a miserable economy. This economy makes

Ti 595 114 [182] [593] them very interdependent, within each family, upon the help of each other, and this interdependence, in turn, which is stressed very highly in these families because of the necessity of sticking together under the difficult physical conditions, calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 appears as less dangerous than aggression among brothers. In fact, the balance between aggression and love for one another is upset in favor of love, and this is so effective that latent, repressed incestuous strivings are forced out by an excuse, I should say, of loving one another and are less condemned than aggression between brothers.

To 595 114 593 Ti 595 114 593 I am convinced that it is this feeling that finds its expression in the Tibetans and Todas saying, "We are polyandrous because we do not want to quarrel among ourselves." (The Tibetans say that they do not want the women to quarrel, by which indirectly they mean that, if the women are quarreling, the men will have to take sides and would quarrel. The Todas are more definite about it and say outright that they are polyandrous because they do not want the brothers to quarrel.) These people actually feel that a practice of aggression, of rivalry between brothers is more dangerous than the custom of sharing one woman, which has led to the establishment of a community in which it has become compulsory to live in this fashion.

To 595 114 Ti 595 114 It is very characteristic of polyandrous people that they insist on being polyandrous and say it is immoral to be anything else. In fact, this latent eruption of a repressed incestuous desire becomes an obligation, which is very much in line with the teachings of psychoanalysis; namely, that a repressed desire becomes the basis of a compulsion, in this case of an imposed institution, which it would be difficult to explain sociologically. Of course, these incestuous obligations, as you might call them, do not go as far as a father-son

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relation, but it seems to me that the *tchamadoong* system is so close to such a relation that again it could easily be explained in this way.

In the final instance, as I say, polyandry "persists through isolation, in the case of the Tibetans, and as part of a defense mechanism in the case of the Todas." The Tibetans are very isolated and do not come in contact with other peoples and, for that reason, the system is well preserved, though in the border region it is breaking down. I was much struck by the fact that people there do not like mentioning polyandry. They are shy about it and think it does not sound very nice to other people, while as one gets into the interior among real polyandrous peoples they are very proud of it and boast about it. In the case of Tocktock, which I mentioned before, the old man was surprised that other peoples were not polyandrous. As far as the Todas are concerned, they are cooped up in the mountains. They are hemmed in by other peoples who have other customs, but they still feel that they are the people of the Nilghiris, and that they are a superior race. In order to assert this, they stick very "nationalistically" to their customs, and I think polyandry persists among them as one of the symbols of their superiority.

000 I hope that this explanation of polyandry may sound convincing in spite of its mainly psychoanalytical approach. I think that the results of this first expedition were satisfactory, and thoroughly justify the desire for a second expedition to find out more about it, for there are many gaps that still need to be filled in, in order to complete the picture.